THE MILITANT

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NEXT ISSUE—THE WEEKLY

With its next issue, to be dated Saturday July 4, 1931, **The Militant** will begin publication as a Weekly. This big step forward is made possible only by the greatest sacrifice on the part of the growing group of comrades and sympathizers of the Communist Left Opposition.

The progress indicated by the publication of the Weekly **Militant** can hardly be overestimated. The need for a more frequent issuance of our organ has never been greater. Confronted by the situation in the labor and revolutionary movements, pregnant with great events, all the obstacles that stand in the way must be surmounted or pushed aside. The voice of the Marxist wing of the movement must now be heard louder and more often. We cannot stand still. Events are multiplying in their significance and **The Militant** must forge ahead to keep pace with them.

The capitalist world is in the throes of its severest crisis since the outbreak of the war. The statesmen of the old order are frantic in their impotence. The rotten edifice of capitalism is crumbling under their feet. In one country after another, the elements of a revolutionary crisis are maturing and the day nears when the problem of power is once more to be posed acutely for the revolutionary proletariat of Europe. Everywhere, the social democratic agency of capitalism is manifesting its treachery and bankruptcy. Only the revolutionary Communists can deliver humanity from the toils of misery and exploitation.

It is here that the great contrast of the present decade is located: the gap between the revolutionary possibilities and the inability of the official Communist movement to seize these possibilities and utilize them to the maximum. The extension of this gap will involve the greatest setback to human progress. The reformists of all shades, inside and outside the revolutionary movement, are intent upon widening this gap. The Marxist wing of Communism, the Left Opposition, was born out of the struggle to close this gap by regenerating the Communist movement, by purging it of opportunism, of adventurism, of its bureaucracy, by shifting it back to the granite foundations laid for the proletarian movement by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The hope of the future lies in Communism, in the Communist movement. All the greater significance is therefore to be attributed to the work of those rebels who have banded together to strengthen Communism by restoring its revolutionary principles. In the United States this work has been done by The **Militant,** in the face of all the obstacles deliberately placed in its path, despite the many-sided attacks, despite the hopes of its numerous foes that its days were numbered. But our work has been but a small part of what it must be. It must be doubled and trebled, deepened and extended to broader spheres.

The working class and the revolutionary movement in the United States stand at the crossroads. The narcotic effects of yesterday's "prosperity" are beginning to wear off. The working class drugged by the illusions of the bourgeoisie is rising out its long sleep. Its first battles of resistance to a capitalist classs seeking to unload its difficulties upon labor have already revealed its profound and hardly tapped resources of militancy and its capacity for action. A Communist movement, aware of the possibilities, capable of utilizing them, united on a principled basis, would be in a position to guide this awakening working class. Coming events may follow in such an order that the historically backward working class of the United States may leap to the forefront of the international proletariat. The Communist movement, which has so tragically missed the opportunities of yesterday, must not be allowed to miss those of today and tomorrow.

There lies the main task of the **Militant** and the Left Opposition as a whole: to train up the revolutionary vanguard, to clarify its purpose and to strengthen its action. The task cannot be postponed. It presses down upon the whole movement with an urgency that cannot be denied.

The Weekly **Militant** will be able to fulfill this task far better than the semi-monthly. Events which yesterday could only be mentioned—and sometimes belatedly—will be mirrored more completely and more in time in the columns of the Weekly Every effort will be made by the Weekly to deal with the important, the decisive struggles in the labor movement as a whole. The outstanding political events of the day will be treated from the Marxian standpoint in the Weekly with greater promptitude and detail than before. The problems of the Soviet Union, the workers' fatherland, the problems and struggles of the Communist International and its American section, will find an objective analysis in our columns. The life of the Left Opposition throughout the world will be recorded faithfully.

The step to The Weekly has been made possible, we said, by the sacrifice of our supporters. The greatest, most pressing problem is still to be solved: the problem of maintaining the Weekly on a strong basis. Just as the publication of the Militant requires the written contributions of all our comrades, so its maintenance demands their constant assistance. Every reader must become a supporter a member of our small army of fighters. It is to them that we make our appeal to increase the circulation of **The Militant,** to spread its influence, to extend its circle of readers as widely as possible.

Swift, generous, steady support is imperative to maintain **The Weekly Militant.** The first step is being taken—the advance must be kept up. Every comrade to his task!

—THE MILITANT.

Miners on the March!

Thousands on Strike Against Wage Cuts in Western Pennsylvania

The miners' strike against inhuman starvation conditions, from its inception which began two weeks ago in Western Pennsylvania has been spreading rapidly and is now extending to Ohio. At the moment of writing there are nearly 20,000 miners out. They are fighting with a militancy equal to the most glorious examples of American labor history. This holds bright prospects for further extention as the miners elsewhere begin to learn that this is their battle as well.

In another article in this issue we give some figures of slashing of the miners' wgaes. These are taken from the Bureau of Labor Statistics compilation. We notice that during the period March 1930 to March 1931 213,000 Bituminous coal miners have suffered a 16.2 percent. reduction. Recently the U. S. Department of Labor conciliator, Emmaline Pitt, expressed herself as "horrified" at the starvation and wretched living conditions of the miners and the "terrible brutality" of the coal and iron police as well as the state Cossacks. Miners have been existing on the starvation level. The most ruthless methods have been used to smash their organization.

In western Pennsylvania the National Miners Union has assumed the leading role. With a genuine mass basis being accepted and a genuine union democracy applied there are prospects for success for the N. M. U. But for this it will be necessary to avoid the mistakes of policy and the bureaucratic administration which have stifled the N. M. U. up till now.

The miners are on the march. A movement of real vitality has commenced, expressing itself in different forms in different parts of the country. In Harlan, Kentucky, 18 000 miners already struck early in May against starvation conditions. In Illinois there is a revolt against the treason of the Lewis-Fishwick-Walker reactionaries. This movement found reverberations in the southern part of West Virginia and Ohio where sections of a new union are being organized in opposition to the old Lewis union. It found reverberations also in Indiana and in the southwestern states where also new union formation is taking place.

The U. M. W. is definitely discredited in the eyes of the rank and file miners who have learnd the lesson from the treasonable career of its officialdom. The capitalist forces, particularly in Pennsylvania, are now crying out for re-establishment of the Lewis union. The bosses prefer no union at all, but they will always be ready to accept the union of the A. F. of L. brand of leadership and policies when they are threatened with the alternative of the rank and file taking matters into their own hands and forming a militant union.

In western Pennsylvania the jails are being filled with militant miners. In Harlan Kentucky, 50 of them are in prison, 20 charged with murder in the first degree. All of these class war victims need defense and deserve all possible working class effort on their behalf. Relief is needed for the striking miners who already for a long time have existed on the starvation level. Workers should send such support to the Miners Relief Committee at 611 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.

In this situation of growing strike, growing militancy of the miners and increasing revolt against the old U. M. W. machine there are real possibilities for a movement which may assume titanic proportions. There are real possibilities for a union built on a class basis, functioning under the banner of militancy and able to embrace all the coal miners. The slightest concession to the outfit of John L. Lewis will be wrong. To the miners it should remain clear that now is the time to bend all effort to direct the various movements of revolt against the old bureaucracy, of struggle against the inhuman conditions and of efforts to organize in various sections into one mighty stream for the building of an all-emrbacing class union. It is necessary to particularly emphasize once again the need of amalgamation of the various sectional unions being organized together with the National Miners Union into one such organization. It is incumbent upon all Communist miners to unite for the achievement of this goal as a part of the fight to a finish against capitalism.

—A. S.

The Spanish Bourgeoisie Acts -- Against Labor

PARIS—

The news that reaches us from Madrid confirms the notice appearing last week in all the papers and according to which 17 Communists were arrested in a saloon during a meeting. Our Madrid comrades write us: "After your delegate had delivered his lecture at the cafe meeting place of the Madrid 'Agrupacion', the police prohibited the owner of the cafe from giving us the hall for our meetings without authorization from the police (Direccion General de Seguridad). On May 15 the police arrested 17 of our comrades who were in the cafe and they are now at the disposal of the military judge. Among those arrested is our comrade Lacroix and other militants of the Left Opposition."

We have written last week that the president of the Council, Alcala Zamora and the minister of the interior, Miguel Maura, announced repressive measures against the "extremists of the Left", that is, against our Opposition comrades who, in the absence of a Communist party, are guiding with their feeble means the spontaneous struggles of the revolutionary proletariat of Spain. Zamora and Maura have kept their promise: to break the spirit of the rebellious masses to leave them without leadership and to throw them into confusion, the provisional government has arrested the best Communist militants. Our comrade Lacroix who was released hardly three weeks ago by the revolutionary workers of Valencia, after having suffered long months of detention in the prisons of the dictatorship which considerably impaired his feeble health, is today incarcerated by the republican-socialist government.

With Lacroix, other militants, less experienced but just as devoted as he is to the proletarian cause are incarcerated in the prisons of the republic. Our duty, the duty of every revolutionary worker, is to stir the opinion of the working class of every country and to raise a vigorous protest against the repression of the Spanish bourgeoisie whose victims are today the best revolutionary militants.

The Role of the Bourgeoisie

The Spanish bourgeoisie, supported by the social democracy, is beginning to play an openly and cynically reactionary role. The provisional government which is revealing itself more and more as the watchdog of the feudal-capitalist bourgeoisie, is deceiving the popular masses by its hypocritical and lying decrees. As soon as the rebellious workers and peasants begin to stir, the provisional government publishes a dozen decrees in which it promises, in nebulous and intentionally equivocal terms the confiscation of certain lands under certain conditions; the confiscation of the wealth of the fallen monarchy; the separation of the church and the state; the punishment of those responsible for the dictatorship, etc.

The next day, after these decrees have played their role as narcotics dulling the vigilance of the masses, the government by a "final word", puts off these radical reforms to the Greek Calends of the Constituent Cortes.

But on May 10, the workers of Madrid and the provinces went out into the streets to have the will of the exploited masses respected by direct action. They themselves punished the most hated enemy of the people—the clergy. Thereupon, the republican-socialist government took off its mask of laymanship and democracy and savagely repressed the demonstrators. It directed the point of its repression against the "extremists of the Left", that is against the Opposition Communists who have taxed themselves with elaborating a political and social program corresponding to the vital interests of the rebellious masses, capable of making their demonstrations with a clear-sighted leadership which permits the masses to conduct their revolutionary activity better and with greater success.

The arrest of the revolutionary militants can only increase the anger of the workers. Indignation runs high in the workers' circles and the campaign of protest against the arbitrary act of the ministry is growing in the trade unions. The workers of all tendencies organized in the reformist trade union (General Union of Labor) or in the anarchist trade unions (National Confederation of Labor) must remember that the socialist leaders, Caballero, Prieto and de los Rios share the same responsibility in this arbitrary act as Zamora and Maura. The Spanish workers today must demand a reckoning from those who claim to represent them in the provisional government. The socialist ministers have ranged themselves openly on the side of the bourgeoisie against the workers, against the best defenders of the proletariat's interests. Every enlightened worker understands this now. But this truth must be told to every stratum of the exploited people. The revolutionary propaganda of all the Spanish Communists, regardless of their tendency must reveal to the workers and peasants throughout Spain the treasonable role which the socialist ministers play in the provisional government.

* * *

It is very important that in this revolutionary struggle unfolding under extremely painful conditions, the Spanish Communists should not remain abandoned to themselves and isolated from the proletarian movement of other countries. The Spanish Communist movement counts a

(Continued on page 8)

EDITORIAL NOTES

STRIKE "STRATEGY"

Among the absurdities spawned during the third period of the Comintern's mistakes, a prominent place belongs to the new inventions in the field of trade union policy, relating to strikes, or as the generals say, "strike strategy". During the past few years we heard plenty about these discoveries. Articles, resolutions, and pamphlets if not whole books—have poured forth in a steady stream as evidence that on this subject also the statesmen of Centrism have something new to say. As was to be expected, the new prescriptions have fared badly in the test of experience. Matters were bad enough before the deluge of theses on strike strategy; since then they have been worse.

The central feature of the new revelation—as nobody has been allowed to forget—is "independent strike leadership". Under this formula the tasks of the Communists in strike situations are reduced to an A B C simplicity: they simply take over the direct leadership of the struggle, regardless of reformists reactionaries, fascists or "social-fascists" who may oppose the idea, and regardless also of the proportionate influence they may wield at the moment. But if the opponents of Communism control the union conducting the strike, what then? The answer is given in all the theses: form a new strike committee. And if the workers do not understand and support this action? That is their fault.

In the recent Duluth-Superior dock strike we have seen a brilliant exemplification of these tactics. In this strike, which was so ably reported in the last number of The **Militant** by Clem Forsen, the party confronted a situation in which the sentiments of the workers were divided between several groups. There were supporters of the Halonen group—the Finninsh variant of the Loveston Right wing—among the strikers, and the I. W. W. had a strong influence over others. In this respect the strike does not present an exceptional picture. It is rather typical. In the coming wave of strike struggles the Communists will rarely find a situation in which they have no rivals. And in most cases they will be more serious rivals, and better organized. For that reason the Duluth experience should not be overlooked.

The logic of the Duluth situation pointed to only one policy for the Communists It was their task in the first place to raise the slogan of unity and solidarity for a common front against the employers in the strike. From that it would follow that they should demand a single strike committee, democratically elected by the strikers in which each of the contending factions would have the right to make its proposals and submit them to the decision of the majority. By this means the unity of the workers would be preserved, while they would have the opportunity, at the same time, to judge the proposals of the various groups, test them in action, and make their own free selection assisted by their own experience.

This applies to the question of union affiliation no less than to the other questions. Through their own experiences with the representatives of the rival unions in the strike, and the strike policies sponsored by them the workers would be in a better position to decide whether they want to join the I. W. W. or the Marine Workers Industrial Union. We have no right to demand that they answer this question beforehand if they are not willing to do so. And if they decide against us we have no right to split. Sooner or later the idea must enter the heads of the Communists—a small minority in the labor movement—that leadership of the workers cannot be secured without their knowledge and consent. We cannot order them to follow us. They will not obey, and we have no power to enforce the order.

These ideas are so elementary and obvious that there should be no need of argument about them. But the Communists at Duluth could not apply them. The "strategy" of "independent strike leadership" stood in the way. With what result? They left the slogan of unity to the I. W. W.—and "the Marine Workers Union and party speakers are chased from the lot." The Communists lost the confidence of the workers, their speakers were isolated from the strike meetings, the strike was demoralized and ended in the acceptance of a wage cut. A defeat for the workers, a defeat for Communism. But what of that? The new strike "strategy", like the whole policy of Centrism from the beginning to end, takes no account of such considerations.

ASSEMBLING THE FUTURE STAFF

The International Opposition has always proceeded from the assumption that the regeneration of the Communist International can be accomplished only by the defeat and displacement of the upper stratum of the Centrist bureaucracy. The degeneration of the leading circle of Stalinism, confirmed in every decisive question of the international revolution over a period of years, is given a fresh confirmation in the political resolution of the Eleventh Plenum of the C. I., this utterly barren and worthless document is a striking revelation of the unbridgeable chasm which stands between the necessities of the movement and the capacities of the official leadership. In this respect it is on a par with the contributions, in theory and practice, of the Stalin mercenaries directing the American party.

It becomes clearer by day that people are not and cannot be the leaders of Communism. They are the chief obstacle in the path of its development. If the kernel of the future staff of Marxist revolutionaries must be assembled in the struggle against them—and there is no other way—then the real headway of the Opposition in maturing and developing new leading forces is a yardstick by which to measure its actual progress.

In this field our gains are indisputable. The Opposition is barred by all the circumstances of the complicated fight from a rapid numerical growth. We never promised that. The crisis is too profound to permit of a quick and easy solution. But in the stubborn and irreconcilable struggle we are preparing the cadres of the future leadership. One ha only to examine the recent issues of the Militant to convince himself of this vital fact. An increasing number of contributions of a high political standard are coming from comrades who are writing for the first time. This is the unfailing sign of internal growth of qualitative improvement and strengthening in our ranks. It is the proof that our forces, unavoidably limited as they are, are preparing for their great historic future and going out to meet it.

To record this promising development is not to rest content with it. For it must be recognized that it marks only a beginning of what we must accomplish if we are to measure up to the magnitude of our tasks. It is only a beginning because the education of new Communist propagandists, organizers and politicians does not keep pace with the expansion of our responsibilities, and because they still remain amateurs devoting only their spare time to the movement.

It would be fatal to stop there, and doubly fatal to make a principle of such a condition. "In order to be fully prepared for his task" said Lenin, "the working-class revolutionist must also become a professional revolutionist." We ought to steer a deliberate course in this direction. The training of the young Communists in the Marxist school of the Opposition should proceed with this objective. The more earnestly we concentrate on this design the better will we utilize the opportunities of the present to prepare the revolutionary staff of the future. —J. P. C.

TROTSKY

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The Eleventh Plenum of the Comintern

(Continued from last issue)

On the question of social-fascism, the resolution says:

'Wherever the Communists apply mechanically the correct tactic of class against class' without taking into account the level of the Communist movement, wherever they identify fascism with social-fascism, the social-fascst leaders with the social democratic workers, the Communists weaken their independent leadership of the class struggle . . . thus permiting the social democracy to maneuver by simulating a struggle against fascism (Austria, Poland) and to deceive the masses who follow them."

In this formulation, there is an open avowal that the identification of fascism with social-fascism was an error that cost the Communist movement dear. Could it be otherwise?

The social democracy is beyond dispute a petty bourgeois wing and the assistant to the bourgeoisie, serving it as a powerful weapon in the struggle against the revolutionary proletariat. Fascism is also a wing of the bourgeoisie, even though of a different type put forward by the bourgeoisie also to battle against the proletariat but under different conditions. The social democracy is the party of the petty bourgeoisie which supports itself primarily upon the labor aristocracy and upon its great influence among the poor strata of the proletariat. Fascism is a petty bourgeois and of functionaries, and possesses an influence among broad strata of the middle peasantry.

These two petty bourgeois movements, in spite of the fact that they support each other subjectively and objectively, sometimes collide because of the diversity of their composition, the differences in their ideological traditions and the methods with which they support the bourgeois regime (bourgeois democracy or dictatorship). The duty of the Marxists is to make clear these differences and not to hide them, for otherwise we might arrive at the conclusion of a monolithic bourgeois class, without internal struggles without competition in the struggle for national and international struggles.

The pitiful results, not only of the bad application, but of the theory of social-fascism in general, proceed from the fact that every worker sees, even by observing daily life, that in spite of all the Communist arguments, in spite of the name of social-fascist acute struggles still break out between the two parties—fascist and social democratic. The fascist party destroys the hedaquarters of the social democrats and their newspapers, arrests them sometimes, and even tortures and kills them. The worker revolts against this, but the Communist movement does not draw him towards it because, thanks to its ridiculous theory of social-fascism, the Communist party refuses to fight together with the social democracy against fascism at the moment when this becomes a vital necessity for the proletariat. (An investigation conducted by the central organ of the German Communist Party, the **Rote Fahne,** among the Social democratic workers showed the correctness of our contention. To the question: "What prevents you from joining the Communist party?", many workers replied: "I am for you but against the theory of social-fascism.")

What is responsible for the negative results of our work?—The bureaucrats of the Eleventh Plenum of the Comintern reply: "It is the workers who do not understand." They do not want to acknowledge that at the moment when they drew the parallel between fascism and social democracy, they drove towards the identification of fascism and social democracy that is, of the social democratic workers and the fascists.

The casting of the responsibility for the bad application upon the national sections is nothing but a retreat in the theory of social-fascism. But as always, it is upon the ranks that the responsibility is cast.

The bureaucracy is afraid of the truth like an ape of his image, so as not to see its own incompetence, otherwise it would have seen that the weakness of the Communist movement does not reside in the ranks. But the bureaucracy is loyal to itself. For every mistake made it immediately finds a formula which frees it of responsibility. In the long run, it always finds a scapegoat (like Molotov, for example) in order to crawl out of a bad situation.

Among other stupidities they never forget to take a kick at the Russian Opposition:

"The work of constructing socialism has finally destroyed all the hopes of the capitalist world, and the 'predictions' of the Trotskyists on the degeneration of Soviet economy into capitalist economy."

Here as everywhere, the bureaucracy fights against the Left Opposition by the solitary means of falsehood. Did the Left Opposition foresee a degeneration of socialist economy into a capitalist economy? Yes, but on one condition: that the policy of Stalin and Bucharin of the years 1926-1927, that is, the policy of "socialism at a snail's pace" be applied. It is Stalin and Bucharin who fought for this policy and slandered the Opposition as agents of the bourgeoisie because of their proposals for industrialization.

Does the Left Opposition today still see a danger of degeneration of the Soviet Union? Yes it sees dangers in the disproportions between the different branches of industry (which is sometimes directed by concealed Mensheviks) and in the extraordinary strengthening of the apparatus.

Besides this, the disappearance of the control of the party masses is also a great danger. The degeneration and the replacement of the socialist economy of the U. S. S. R. by a capitalist ecomony is related above all to the militancy of the proletariat and of its vanguard in the U. S. S. R. as well as outside of it.

The greater the vigilance shown by the C. P. S. U. the closer will be the decisive victory of the proletariat.

The Left Opposition saw all the dangers and called them to the attention of the international proletariat. It will continue to do it, without looking forward to eulogies from the narrow bureaucrats of the Eleventh Plenum but in the interests of the world proletariat. —JANIN.

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The A. F. of L. and the Wage-Cut Drive

By ARNE SWABECK

William Green has come forward with a statement that the A. F. of L. Executive Council will call upon the workers, organized and unorganized, to "resist wage cuts to the fullest extent". If that was meant to be taken seriously one would assume that steps for through-going preparation of all unions to adopt methods and measures for effective resistance should follow to correspond with such statements. But this is not the case.

What the Executive Council has in mind becomes clear from the editorials by Green in the June issue of the **American Federationist.** His appeal is not at all directed to the working class, not even to the unions, but in the usual boot licking lackey fashion addressed to the employers. He says in part, with regard to the present crisis: "We look to gatherings of captains of finance and leaders of industry to find a way forward". And then calling upon the unions he says: "Get ready the facts to show your community how many customers are wage earners and what their wages mean to the retail trade of the town, to those who rent houses to insurance agents, to automobile salesmen, etc. . . . Interest community groups in this wage preservation movement and get your statements into the local papers. Remember you must convince employers and the public. This is a time to utilize the facts and put your full strength behind them."

The actual extent of wage-cutting can perhaps best be gathered by referring to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' figures for the month of January 1931. A total of 335 companies reported reductions affecting 43,507 workers. The same bureau also lists the wage cuts in percentage for a number of industries under the heading of per capita weekly earnings of March, 1931, compared with March 1930. We quote in part.

2,937,525 workers in the manufacturing industry have had their wekly wage lowered by 9.4 percent; 110.669 authracite miners by 9.2 percent. 213.028 Bituminous miners by 16.2 percent and so on for many other industries. These outright wage cuts listed by the bureau do not, however, at all include the many clever schemes which are being applied by way of indirect wage cutting of which many thousand workers have become the victims.

Undoubtedly these figures by themselves express a slashing capitalist offensive of a terrific magnitude against the working class standard. We might add that without a doubt the A. F. of L. leadership has become quite alarmed over the present situation. Not so much over the reduction of the working class standard as because of its ravaging effects upon the union membership. First, by the fact that large proportions of this membership find themselves unable to meet their dues payments. Secondly, and this is a well known fact that the unofficial wage cuts are far heavier than those registered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Notably is this so in the building trades unions, which form the very backbone of the A. F. of L. These unions are today unable to maintain the wage scale which the official agreements call for. Because of the failure of the organizations really to take any steps to repel the capitalist offensive the members find themselves face to face with the choice of prolonged unemployment or whatever wage the boss sees fit to pay. It is very natural that under such conditions the unions should experience heavy membership losses.

It should now be perfectly clear that what we have clearly and distinctly emphasized some time ago as an inevitable perspective, is actually coming to pass. Capitalism is beginning its desperate efforts to overcome its economic difficulties by saddling the burden more securely upon the workers' backs. They are aiming for a new sort of stabilization level, many degrees further down, based upon a drastically reduced working class standard. The all-important question now is: Will the workers resist and attempt to prevent it?

In answer to such a query we notice some very encouraging signs. Strikes are today on the increase. Workers are beginning to resist the capitalist onslaughts. The Department of Labor reports that there were only 903 strikes during the year 1930 which records the lowest number since 1918, During the most recent weeks, however many strikes, mostly against wage cuts, have broken out. There have been several strikes involving thousands of workers in the anthracite section of the Pennsylvania coal producing territory. Just now, about ten thousand workers are on strke in the Cannonsburg bitumous section in Pennsylvania under the leadership of the National Miners Union. About 2,000 steel workers struck in Mansfield, Ohio, against a 15 percent wage cut. The latter have so far experienced a total cut of 37½ percent in eighteen months. Several thousand miners have been on strike for some time against wage cuts in Kentucky. Several thousand workers struck against the wage cuts in the Mishawaka rubber and woolen factory in Indiana. Hosiery workers in Pennsylvania are still on strike. Building trades workers in Indianapolis struck and prevented a 20 percent wage cut. Two thousand pocket book workers in New York are on strike against a 25 percent wage cut. Similarly leather goods workers in Massachusetts are out fighting wage cuts. The New England machinists have decided to resist any wage reductions. The street car workers of St. Louis Mo., have decided to strike against a 10 percent wage cut if negotiations fail them. These are only some of the present examples.

The American workers are still fighting on the defense. A change toward offensive battles is of course not determined only by the numbers involved the frequency of occurence, the industries involved or even the specific nature of demands. It is rather determined by the general character and objectives of the struggles, not only toward the immediate issues but also toward the whole system of class society. Nevertheless there are without a question of a doubt great possibilities for development in such direction. And it is particularly important to remember that upon the revolutionary movement rests the task of bringing forward the slogans and tactical guidance which will furnish the bridge from the defensive to the offensive.

It would be erroneous to draw the conclusion from the decrease of membership of the A. F. of L. unions that it is definitely facing an unbroken period of decline. Undoubtedly it is in a serious crisis. But it is to be expected that the very pressure of the capitalist onslaught will bring many in the workers' ranks to seek organizations and will still throw many of them into the folds of the A. F. of L. unions despite the treacherous career of its leadership. It is particularly pertinent, however, at the present moment to call the attention of the workers to the fact that the fundamental reason for the present plight of the A. F. of L. unions is to be sought precisely in the character of the leadership and its policies. It is only a short time ago, at the beginning of this present crisis, that William Green promised the Hoover Conference that there would be no strikes for "wage adjustments" during this period. And that at a time when any worker with an ounce of brains would know that precisely this period would be utilized for a general reduction of the working class standard.

It is to be expected that the present period of such slashing attasks upon the unions will bring forward new elements with pretentions "progressive" declarations. Such are merely the weathercocks of the general trend of the working class movement and serve as a mask cloaking the treason being prepared by the reactionary leadership whose color does not change. In that respect, such elements become particularly dangerous, as their fundamental outlook has not changed either, but only their appearance. They furnish the feeding channels of social reformism, into which they endeavor to direct the trade union movement to prevent its development truly and genu.nely in a Left direction.

The American working class has during the past "prosperity" period been lulled into a false sense of security which to a large extent accounts for the slow developments of resistance to the attacks upon it. These workers have not suffered serious defeats. All the more can it be expected that with the increase of these attacks the devlopments toward large struggles scale and even offensive struggles will become quite rapid. There are great prospects and great encouragemnts in such a perspective. But there are also immense responsibilities resting upon the Communist movement. The coming period will most likely hold rich possibilities for the organization of the unorganized industries for the building of new unions. But it also holds similar possibilities for development of militancy for building of a Left wing movement within the old unions. Only a correct combination of these two tasks can assure success.

Communism and Syndicalism in Spain

The programs of the different currents of the working class movement are being tested by the Spanish revolution—a revolution which is now in Socialist-Republican hands, but a revolution these forces are unable to solve, a revolution slipping from their grasp, either to be carried to the successful conclusion of a dictatorship of the proletariat by a Marxian leadership or to be spilled back in the hands of the capitalist-feudalist forces.

In the onward march of the revolution the syndicalists hold a key position not because of their theoretical position, but due to their lack of one and the fact that they are the most powerfully organized and militant proletarian force. The Communist program that does not give special attention to this part of the heterogenous problem will be unable "to reduce all the contradictions and tasks to one co-efficient—the dictatorship of the proletariat". Before dealing with what kind of special attention we must take up the syndicalist movement of Spain.

The Russian Revolution and the German revolution had to contend with the socialists as the most powerful organized force with a non-Marxian position. The Chinese revolution has a different relationship of these forces. Although the present Spanish revolution brings out a relationship with the socialists resembling the German and Russian revolutions it nevertheless opens up a new problem when considering the relationship of the socialists sydnicalists and Communists in Spain as well as what lessons revolutionists have already learned about the role of the socialists.

We are actively participating in a revolution that can be compared with the Russian revolution. If we are to list the striking differences between these two revolutions special attention must be given to the syndicalist problem, because the Left Opposition has already dealt with the other vital problems to a greater degree. The capitalist press of the continent is comparing the Spanish revolution with the French revolution and the American press has followed its lead. What blindness and lack of understanding of their own capitalist problems! The French revolution came in the period of the birth of capitalism and the Spanish revolution breaks out in the period of the decay of capitalism. The capitalist comparison holds no water.

The syndicalist movement took root in Spain at the beginning of the century, as it did in most capitalist countries, as a "healthy" reaction to the revision and opportunism of the Second International. The "denial" of politics and the attitude toward the State was the most favorable ground for the philosophy of Anarchism. The old problems of capitalism are incorporated in the new problems of capitalism and the old problems of the Marxian movement (Bakunin, Proudhon etc.) are incorporated in our new problems. They are not to be dismissed as settled problems, as an unnecessary retracing of steps over ground covered but to be treated as part of the contradictions of the present stage of imperilaism. Stalinism as a revision of Marxism and the tactics of the Comintern have been feeding the stream of syndicalism. Driving workers to reformism and syndicalism is part of Stalinism. To win the workers from the reformist and anarcho-syndicalist leadership, to the road of the proletarian revolution is a task that falls upon the shoulders of the Left Opposition. We must remember that the road does not lead around the party but through the party. But we must also add that "through the party" does not exclude independent action—it necessarily includes such.

The General Confederation of Labor, as a syndicalist organization, is far from homegoneous. At present the anarcho-syndicalists are in control but the very process of the revolution and the wrong policies of this leadership must accelerate the division in the organization. The 1919 Congress decided to join the Third International, but desiring to join and being Communist are two different things. By 1920 the confederation had over 800,000 members, according to their reports, but the eventful years and defeats since then have left them with a small underground organization which is rapidly growing in the present revolution.

The General Strike

The defeat of the general strike in 1923 in Spain and the general world effects of the defeat of the October German revolution enabled the dictatorship of Primo De Rivera to establish its rule on the backs of the workers and peasants of Spain. The syndicalist program is brought out in full light in the events since 1923 as an utter minus in relation to solving the problems of the proletariat and peasantry. To the syndicalist, the general strike means everything. To us the general strike is a most powerful weapon in the hands of Marxian leadership; yet it only RAISES the question of power but does not SETTLE it. Only the smashing of the capitalist state machinery and its replacement with a proletarian state machine, a dictatorship of the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry in Spain, will settle the question of power.

The "Syndicat" as a federated system of autonomy is the syndicalist structure to take over production. Workers' federalism vs. centralism is their keynote. Under capitalism the organization of production has already surpassed this syndicalist federated or local commune stage. Capitalism has combined industry, etc., nationally and internationally interlocking numbers of industries under finance-capitalism. The syndicalist proposal is a step backward to the organization of productive forces on a lower level, while the socialist solution of the proletarian problem lies in surpassing the capitalist mode of production. We must build a higher stage of economic production as well as distribution. The Centrist with his theory of socialism in one country is only different in degree from the syndicalist conception of the solution of the toiling masses' problems under the socialist mode of production. Stalinism can build socialism in an isolated economic backward unit and the syndicalist can build socialism through local communes. The Left Opposition say the solution of our problems and of the Socialist mode of production lies in the world arena through the world revolution. The seizure of power in Spain now by the proletariat would be another step, a link in the chain of world revolution and would bring greater clarity to our ranks and more unity between the proletariat and peasantry—a unity with an accelerated solution of the peasant problem.

Lenin wrote, "The basic question of any revolution is that of state power. Unless this is understood there can be no intelligent participation in the revolution, let alone directing it." The leaders of the syndicalists have not learned this BASIC question but fortunately the rank and file followers of the syndicalist and some capable proletarian leaders of their camp are learning this basic problem not only in Spain but throughout the world. The quicker we teach this basic point to the Spanish syndicalist followers the faster will be the development of a party, a Marxian party of Communists.

The capitalists may be "dumb" but they at least can distinguish friend from foe. They recognize the Soviet Union not as a friend but as a foe, in spite of the blunders of Stalin. But the syndicalist cannot understand this distinction. No matter how far Stalin has gone up to now with his theory of socialism in one country the international capitalists will not confuse this with capitalist rule even though they realize his policies are strengthening the element that want the return of capitalist rule. The syndicalists often say they would rather have a capitalist dictatorship (U. S. "democracy") than the Russian dictatorship (Soviet power under Communist leadership). Their actions in Spain prove it.

"Freedom" and Dictatorship

Postana, leader of the syndicalist says, "A dictatorship of the proletariat is continually mentioned. We want no dictatorship. The workers must be educated for freedom, not tyranny. The syndicate is the solution." There is nothing in between the dictatorship of the capitalist today in Spain and the dictatorship of the proletariat tomorrow. The only choice lies between rule of the workers and peasants and the rule of the capitalist and feudalist. We say to the syndicalists: If you establish your "federation of syndicates" and the capitalists endeavor to take them back, you must either use force against them or give up—to use force against them, to keep them from a return to private property is the dictation of one class the working class over the capitalist class, and such, in plain English, is the dictatorship of the proletariat through the Soviets. You want freedom and we tell you freedom for the capitalist and feudalist is tyranny for the workers and peasants and freedom for the workers and peasants is "tyranny" for the capitalist and feudalist. Only, our rule is the rule of the majority over the minority.

The objective conditions favor us, the masses learn fast in a revolution and through united fronts with revolutionary syndicalists fighting the Socialist-Republican government we can help them to discard their anarchist prejudices.

Worker, peasant and soldier Juntas with the Communist program presented by the Left Opposition, is the road to power in Spain for the workers and peasants.—H.

—HUGO OEHLER

THE STRANGLED REVOLUTION

By LEON TROTSKY

The book by André Malraux, "Les Conquerants" [The Conquerors] has been sent to me from various parts and, I even believe in four copies, but unfortunately I read it after a delay of eighteen months or two years. The book is devoted to the Chinese revolution, that is, to the greatest subject of the last five years. A fine and well-knit style, the discriminating eye of an artist, original and daring observation—all confer upon the novel an exceptional importance. If we write about it here it is not because the book is a work of talent, although this is not a negligible fact, but because it offers a source of political lessons of the highest value. Do they come from Malraux? No, they flow from the recital itself unknown to the author and they go against him. This does honor to the observer and to the artist, but not to the revolutionist. However, we have the right to evaluate Malraux too from this point of view; in his own name and above all in the name of Garine, his self self, the author does not hesitate to expose his judgments on the revolution.

The book is called a novel. In fact, we have before us a romanticized chronicle of the Chinese revolution, from its first period to the period of Canton. The chronicle is not complete. Social vigor is sometimes lacking from the picture. But for that there pass before the reader not only luminous episodes of the revolution but also clear-cut silhouettes which are graven in the memory like social symbols.

An Unforgettable Picture

By little colored touches following the method of stipplers, Malraux gives an unforgettable picture of the General strike, not, to be sure, as it is below, not as it is carried out, but as it is observed from above: the Europeans do not get their dinner, the Europeans swelter in the heat, the Chinese have ceased to work in the kitchens and to make the ventilators work. This is not a reproach to the author: the foreign artist could undoubtedly not have dealt with his theme otherwise. But another complaint can be made which is of importance to him; the book is lacking in a congenital affinity between the writer, in spite of all he knows, understands and can do. and his heroine, the revolution.

The sympathies of the author, which are active ones, for insurgent China are unmistakable. But chance bursts upon these sympathies. They are corroded by the excesses of individualism and by aesthetic caprice. In reading the book with sustained attention one sometimes experiences a feeling of vexation, when, in the tone of the persuasive recital one perceives a note of protecting irony towards the barbarians capable of enthusiasm. That China is backward, that many of its political manifestations bear a primitive character—nobody asks that they be passed over in silence. But a correct perspective is needed which puts every object in its place. The Chinse events, on the basis of which the "novel" of Malraux unfolds itself, are incomparably more important for the future destiny of human culture than the vain and pitiful uproar of European parliaments and the mountain of literary products of stagnant civilizations. Malraux seems to feel a certain timidity to take this into account.

In the novel, there are pages, fine in their intensity which show how revolutionary hatred is born of the yoke, of ignorance, of slavery, and is tempered like steel. These pages might have entered into the Anthology of the Revolution if Malraux had approached the masses with greater freedom and intrepidity, if he had not introduced into his study a small note of blase superiority, seeming to excuse himself for his transient contact with the insurrection of the Chinese people as much perhaps before himself as before the academic mandarins in France and the traffickers in opium for the mind.

* * *

Borodin represents the Comintern in the post of high counsellor in the Canton government. Garine, the favorite of the author, is charged with propaganda. All the work is done within the framework of the Kuo Min Tang. Borodin, Garine, the Russian general Galen the Frenchman Gerard, the German Klein, constitute a primitive bureaucracy of the revolution raising itself above the insurgent people and conducting its own "revolutionary policy" instead of conducting the policy of the revolution.

The local organizations of the Kuo Min Tang are defined as follows: "Unions of a few fanatics, manifestly brave, of a few moneyed men who seek consideration or security, of numerous students, of coolies" (see pages 29 and 30). Not only do bourgeois enter into each organization but they completely lead the party. The Communists extol the Kuo Min Tang. The workers and the peasants are persuaded to take no action that might rebuff the devoted friends of the bourgeoisie. "Such are the societies that we control (more or less, do not deceive yourselves about it)" (see page 29). An edifying avowal. The bureaucracy of the Comintern tried to "control" the class struggle in the economic life of the backward countries. But a revolution cannot be controlled. One can only give a political expression to its internal forces. One must know to which of these forces to link his destiny.

"The coolies are about to discover that they exist, simply that they exist" (see page 31). That's well aimed. But to feel that they exist, the coolies the industrial workers and the peasants must overthrow those who prevent them from existing. Foreign domination is indissolubly bound up with the domestic yoke. The coolies must not only drive out Baldwin or MacDonald but also overthrow the ruling classes. One cannot be accomplished without the other. Thus, the awakening of the human personality in the masses of China, who exceed ten times the population of France, is immediately transformed into the lava of the social revolution. A magnificent spectacle!

But here Borodin appears on the scene and declares: "In the revolution, the workers must do the coolie work for the bourgeoisie."* The social enslavement from which they want to liberate themselves is found by the workers to be transposed into the sphere of politics. To whom do they owe this perfidious operation? To the bureaucracy of the Comintern. In trying to "control the Kuo Min Tang", it actually aids the bourgeoisie which seeks "consideration and security" in enslaving the coolies who want to exist.

Borodin, who remains in the background all the time characterizes himself in the novel as a "man of action", as a "professional revolutionist", as a living incarnation of Bolshevism on the soil of China. Nothing is further from the truth! Here is the political biography of Borodin: in 1903, at the age of 19, he emigrated to America; in 1918, he returned to Moscow where, thanks to his knowledge of English, he "insured contact with the foreign parties"; he was arrested in Glasgow in 1922 then he was delegated to China as representative of the Comintern. Having quit Russia before the first revolution and having returned there after the third, Borodin appeared as the consummate representative of that bureaucracy of the state and of the party which recognized the revolution only after its victory. When it is a question of young people, it is sometimes nothing more than a matter of chronology. With people of the age of 40 or 50, it is already a political characterization. If Borodin rallied brilliantly to the victorious revolution in Russia, it does not in the least signify that he was called upon to assure the victory of the revolution in China. People of this type assimilate without difficulty the gestures and intonations of "professional revolutionists". Many of them, by their protective coloration, not only deceive others but most frequently themselves. The audacious inflexibility of the Bolshevik is metamorphosed with them into that cynicism of the functionary ready for anything. Ah! to have a mandate from the Central Committee! This sacrosant safeguard Borodin always had in his pocket.

Garine's False Radicalism

Garine is not a functionary, he is more original than Borodin and perhaps even closer to the revolutionary type. But he is deprived of the indispensable formation; dilletante and transient sentry, he gets hopelessly entangled in the great events and this is revealed at every step. With regard to the slogans of the Chinese revolution, he expresses himself thus: " . . . democratic prattling, rights of the people, etc." (see page 36). This has a radical ring but it is a false radicalism. The slogans of democracy are execrable prattling in the mouth of Poincare Herriot, Leon Blum, sleight-of-hand artists of France and jailors of Indo-China, of Algeria and of Morocco. But when the Chinese rebel in the name of the "rights of the people", this has as little to do with prattling as the slogans of the French revolution in the eighteenth century. At Hongkong, the British birds of prey threatened, during the strike, to re-establish corporal punishment. "The rights of man and of the citizen" meant at Hongkong the right of the Chinese not to be flogged by the British whip. To unmask the democratic rottenness of the imperialists is to serve the revolution; to call the slogans of the insurrection of the oppressed "prattling", is to aid involuntarily the imperialists.

A good inoculation of Marxism would have preserved the author from fatal contempt of this order. But Garine in general, considers that revolutionary doctrine is "doctrinary rubbish". He is, you see, one of those for whom the revolution is only a definite "state of affairs". Isn't this astonishing? But it is just because the revolution is a "state of affairs", that is, a stage in the development of society conditioned by objective causes and subjected to definite laws, that a scientific mind can foresee the general direction of processes. Only the study of the anatomy of society and of its physiology permits one to react to the course of events by basing oneself upon scientific foresight and not upon the conjunctures of a dilletante. The revolutionist who "despises" revolutionary doctrine is worth no more than the healer who despises medical doctrine which he does not know or than the engineer who challenges technology. People who, without the aid of science try to rectify this "state of affairs" which is a disease, are called sorcerers or charlatans and are prosecuted in conformity with law. Had there existed a tribunal to judge the sorcerers of the revolution, it is probable that Borodin, like his Muscovite inspirers, would have been severely condemned. I am afraid that Garine himself would not have issued unscathed from the affair.

Tcheng Dai and Hong

Two figures are opposed to each other in the novel, like the two poles of the national revolution: old Tcheng Dai, the spiritual authority of the Right wing of the Kuo Min Tang, the prophet and the saint of the bourgeoisie and Hong, the young leader of the terrorists. Both are depicted with great force. Tcheng Dai embodies the old Chinese culture translated into the language of European culture; by this exquisite garment, he "ennobles" the interests of all the ruling classes of China. To be sure, Tcheng Dai wants national liberation, but he dreads the masses more than the imperialists; he hates the revolution more than the yoke placed upon the nation. If he marches ahead of it, it is only to pacify it, to subdue it, to exhaust it. He conducts a policy of resistance on two fronts, against imperialism and against the revolution, the policy of Gandhi in India, the policy which, in definite periods and in one form or another, the bourgeoisie has conducted at every longitude and latitude. Passive resistance is born of the tendency of the bourgeoisie to canalize the movement of the masses and to forfeit it.

When Garine says that Tcheng Dai's influence rises above politics, one can only shrug one's shoulders. The masked policy of the "upright man" in China as in India expresses in the sublime and abstractly moralizing form the conservative interests of the possessors. The personal disinterestedness of Tcheng Dai is in no sense in opposition to his political function: the exploiters need "upright men" like the ecclesiastical hierarchy needs saints.

Who gravitate around Tcheng Dai? The novel replies with meritorious precision: a world "of old mandarins, smugglers of opium or of photographs, men of letters who have become merchants, lawyers from the faculty of Paris, intellectuals of all sorts" (page 125). Behind them stands a solid bourgeoisie bound up with England, and which arms General Tang against the revolution. In the expectation of victory, Tang prepares to make Tcheng Dai the head of the government. Both of them, Tcheng Dai and Tang, nevertheless continue to be members of the Kuo Min Tang which Borodin and Garine serve.

When Tang has a village attacked by his armies, and when he prepares to butcher the revolutionists, beginning with Borodin and Garine, his party comrades, the latter with the aid of Hong, mobilize and arm the unemployed. But after the victory won over Tang, the leaders do not seek to change a thing that existed before. They cannot break the party which is doubly connected with Tcheng Dai because they have no confidence in the workers, the coolies, the revolutionary masses, they are themselves contaminated with the prejudices of Tcheng Dai whose chosen arm they are.

In order not to rebuff the bourgeoisie they are forced to enter into struggle with Hong. Who is he and where does he come from? "From misery" (page 41). He is of those who are making the revolution and not of those who rally to it when it is victorious. Having come to the idea of killing the English governor of Hongkong, Hong is concerned with only one thing: "When I am condemned to capital punishment, the young people will have to be told to imitate me" (page 40). To Hong a clear program must be given: to raise the workers, to assemble them, to arm them and to oppose them to Tcheng Dai as to an enemy. But the bureaucracy of the Comintern looks for Tcheng Dai's friendship, repulses Hong and exasperates him. Hong exterminates bankers and merchants one after another, the very ones who "support" the Kuo Min Tang, Hong kills missionaries: "those who teach people to support misery must be punished, Christian priests or others . . ." (page 274). If Hong does not find the right road, it is the fault of Borodin and Garine who have placed the revolution in the tow of the bankers and the merchants. Hong reflects the mass which is already rising but which has not yet rubbed its eyes or softened its hands. He tries by the revolver and the knife to act for the masses whom the agents of the Comintern are paralyzing. That is, frankly, the truth about the Chinese revolution.

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Nevertheless, the Canton government "vacillates while seeking not to fall from Borodin and Garine who hold the police and the trade unions to Tcheng Dai who holds nothing at all but nevertheless exists" (page 72). We have an almost perfect picture of the duality of power. The representatives of the Comintern have in their hands the trade unions of Canton, the police, the cadet school of Whampoa, the sympathy of the masses, the aid of the Soviet Union. Tcheng Dai as a "moral" authority, that is, the prestige of the mortally distracted possessors. The friends of Tcheng Dai sit in a powerless benevolent government supported by the conciliators. But is that not the regime of the February revolution, the Kerenskyist system, with the sole difference that the role of the Mensheviks is played by the pseudo-Bolsheviks? Borodin has no doubt of it even though he is made up as a Bolshevik and takes his make-up seriously.

The ruling thought of Garine and of Borodin is to prohibit Chinese and foreign boats, cruising towards the port of Canton, from putting in at Hongkong. These people, who consider themselves realistic revolutionists, hope, by the commercial blockade to shatter English domination in southern China. They never deem it necessary first of all to overthrow the government of the Canton bourgeoisie which only waits for the moment to surrender the revolution to England. No, Borodin and Garine knock every day at the door of the "government", and hat in hand, ask that the saving decree be promulgated. One of them reminds Garine that at bottom the government is a phantom. Garine is not disconcerted. Phantom or not, he replies, let it go ahead while we need it. That is the way the priest needs relic which he himself fabricates with wax and cotton. What is concealed behind this policy which weakens and debases the revolution? The consideration entertained by a revolutionist from the petty bourgeoisie for a bourgeois with a solid conservatism. It is thus that the reddest of the French radicals is always ready to fall on his knees before Poincare.

The Weakness of the Masses

But perhaps the masses of Canton are not yet mature enough to overthrow the government of the bourgeoisie? From this whole atmosphere, the conviction arises that without the opposition of the Comintern, the phantom government would long before have been overthrown under the pressure of the masses. Let us admit that the Cantonese workers were still too weak to establish their own power. What, generally speaking, is the weak spot of the masses? Their inclination to follow the exploiters. In this case, the first duty of revolutionists is to help the workers liberate themselves from servile confidence. Nevertheless, the work done by the bureaucracy of the Comintern was diametrically opposed to this. It inculcated in the masses the notion of the necessity to submit to the bourgeoisie and it declared that the enemies of the bourgeoisie were their own enemies.

Not to rebuff Tcheng Dai? But if Tcheng Dai moves off in spite of that, which is inevitable, it would not mean that

(Continued to page 7)

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* See the letter of Tchen Du-Hsiu to the Chinese Communists in the **Militant** last year.

America's «Pacifism» in Europe and . . . Litvinov's

By MAX SHACHTMAN

The hubbub being created around the issue raised by the likelihood that Germany will be obliged to suspend reparations payments, a condition directly traceable to the Versailles treaty provisions and aggravated by the present world crisis, serves to give new point to America's imperialist role in Europe on the one hand, and on the other to the outstanding feature of the recent Geneva conference—the Litvinov proposals.

Germany's Plight

The plight of German capitalism is unmistakably a serious one. For the four years following the inauguration of the Dawes Plan, Germany was able to meet its involuntary obligations to its conquerors by borrowing extensively from them. The balance sheet remained virtually the same, while Germany's indebtedness was in reality not diminished and no sound basis actually laid for its economic recovery. With the decline of Germany's investment needs, indeed, its decreased ability to absorb these investments, plus the ensuing of capitalism's most violent crisis, Germany has been driven to the very brink of the abyss. The world crisis has created a situation where due to the fall of prices on the international market, the gold value provided for under the Young Plan for reparations has increased to an extent that makes them equal to the payments fixed under the Dawes Plan which the former was intended to modify.

Unable to pay from its dwindling gold reserves (Germany has less than 5 percent of the world's gold holdings, compared with more than 39 percent in the United States and almost 20 percent in France), it is more than ever compelled to pay in goods. But at the present time, this involves not only a decrease in German imports—which does not help to liquidate accumulated world stocks by one iota!—but an increase of its exports. The Austro-German tariff union is but one step in this direction; the contracted world market and the growing customs walls throughout Europe—to say nothing of the United States—demonstrates the improbability of effecting a solution of Germany's ills in the direction of increased exports. The national deficit of the Reich is mounting steadily and is coupled with the failure of the new tax measures to bring in even as much as the previous taxes did. The rising unemployment does not help the situation. The growing division of the nation's forces into the Fascist and the Communist camp serve as the political reflection of the acuteness which the contradictions in Germany's position are assuming at home.

With this distracting picture looming before them, the German bourgeoisie marches hat in hand from Geneva to Chequers begging that the pressure be relaxed the noose loosened, and Germany be allowed once more to breathe lest the Eastern "rampart of European civilization be razed by the fury of Bolshevism". But in Geneva, in Paris, in Chequers, it is met with the same helpless shrugging of the shoulders. Briand and Henderson express their most deepfelt sympathies, but alas! they are themselves heavily indebted to the rich uncle across the sea, and if Germany is not to pay the Allied debts to the United States under the euphemistic title of war reparations who will? For out of Germany's annual "reparations" payments of approximately a quarter of a billion dollars to the European war victors, the latter are making annual "debt" payments of approximately a quarter of a billion dollars to the United States. And with Secretary Mellon's announcement of a treasury deficit of a billion dollars, it is hardly likely that the United States, which is itself the very soul of honor and punctiliousness in business matters, will consent to remit the debts honorably incurred and solemnly pledged for by the Allies.

But lest it be said that the United States is close-fisted, chauvinistic unrelenting it takes the opportunity offered by Germany's destitution to demonstrate to the entire world its entirely pacific nature and its magnanimity towards the oppressed German people. This far from means feat is now being acomplished by the Hoover administration, if not officially, then just as authoritatively through the mouth of Senator Borah, who is at least as much the Secretary of State as the formal occupant of that post, Stimson. How? Simply as follows:

The American Plan

1. We want not a cent from the German people. We never started the war; we were dragged into it. We wanted a peace without victory. We did not sign the humiliating Versailles treaty. We have received no reparations, and unlike other powers, we want no reparations. The others may press the bled Germans for their reparations but we'll have nothing to do with the dirty business. It is true that arguments are being made by ignoble powers that unless they get reparations from Germany, they shall be unable to pay back what they owe the United States. But we have adopted a policy which says that these arguments are false and may not be advanced. Let the reparations business be settled between Germany and England, France and Belgium. We want none of it. Our sympathies are with the cruelly driven German people.

2. Germany's annual $200 000,000 reparations payment to the Allies is one thing. But the shipment from the Allies to the United States, containing exactly the same sum, is another thing. It is an honorable debt consecrated on the battlefield. That we want. Welching on debts is not the American style. It is true that Europe's economic system makes debt payments difficult. Good. We are an understanding people. But the money is there from which payments can be made. So we propose says the ingenious Mr. Borah, alias Mr. Hoover, that you cut down on your armament expenditures! This will kill, in the best American style of mass output, four birds at once: (a) it will lighten your budgets and the burden upon your sorely taxed people; (b) it will enable you to maintain a good business name by paying your debts, which is good for the soul; (c) it will give further security to the maintenance of world peace by softening the belligerent mien of Europe; and (d)—which is not the least important bird—**it will further insure the military predominance of American imperialism in the world political struggle!**

These are the proposals of the United States which have caused such consternation in European capitals. In a word: The "European plan" is to link reparations and war debts and keep disarmament schemes separate; the "American plan" is to link war debts and disarmament schemes (for Europe to be sure) and keep reparations separate. What more profitable role than this could the United States wish for, a role which calls for its assumption of the peacemaker's garments? And what more classic instance could be given since the day when Wilson's fourteen peaceful points were given to Europe as the basis for America issuing out of the war with the lion's share of the spoils, of the fact that America's pacifism is the handmaiden that best serves the interests of a repacious, bandit imperialism, that most successfully invests its progress with the treacherous aura of benevolence?

America's pacifism in "solving" the European crisis or at least one highly important phase of it is its unique form of expanding its imperialistic power and crushing its rivals in the struggle for world power. It is a sham pacifism, a scoundrelly deception, a utopia as disastrous an illusion for those whom it fools as was Wilsonism for the war-weary masses of Europe in 1917-1918.

Although not produced by any imperialist ambitions or requirements, a pacifist cloudburst of another variety—equally nauseating, equally utopian, equally illusory—has just drenched Europe and sent its vapors around the world. Its artificer, Litvinov alias Stalin, represents the political antipode of the United States—the Soviet Union. Emanating from the spokesman for the Soviet Union, with its immense prestige and authority in the world's working class, this variety of pacifism, class-collaboration, can only have a more nefarious effect if anything. Our reference is to the disgraceful conduct of the Soviet delegation at the recently concluded Geneva sessions of M. Briand's European Commission, that is the anteroom of the black League of Nations.

That the workers' state is not only justified, but is under compulsion to take advantage of the world capitalist crisis in order to improve its own position—even, if necessary, at the cost of some assistance to the world bourgeoisie or sections of it—can be denied only by dunderheads who know nothing about the requirements of revolutionary policy. But when a concession is given, it must be called a concession. When a deal is made its nature must be established openly so that the workers the world over will have neither misgivings nor illusions. The vigilance of the workers, concerned over the unflagging hostility of the bourgeois world towards the workers' state, must not be slackened or lulled. In other words, the policy of the Soviet Union in "foreign affairs", which can only be a linear extension of its policy at home, must always have a clear class basis.

As at Brest-Litovsk, as at Genoa, so everywhere else the Soviets must show to the whole working class that it deals with the bourgeoisie not because it has an ounce of faith in its professed intentions, its good will, its "friendliness" or "peaceableness", but because the solitary existence of a capitalistically encircled proletarian state compels negotiations, trade agreements, commercial and diplomatic intercourse etc., etc. This at least, was the course in Lenin's time. The absolutely uncalled-for Soviet procedure at the Geneva Economic Conference in 1927, its equally baseless action in signing the imperialistic Kellogg "Peace Pact to Outlaw War", show how far the present regime in Russia has strayed from this course. Litvinov's conduct at Geneva last month has only meant that the rudder is being pressed harder in the wrong direction.

The European Commission has been established by French imperialism to preside over the birth of Briand's utopian "Pan-Europa"—the French plan for extending its "Little Entente" until it covers most, if not all of Europe. The official Comintern press has even characterized it as intended chiefly to organize the anti-Soviet interventionist bloc. Some months ago, this same press was filled with accounts according to which the Moscow trial of the sabotaging engineers has demonstrated that Poincare, Briand, the French General Staff, the Polish government the Rumanian puppets of France, etc., etc., were conspiring for active intervention against the Soviet republic. Here is a fact of no mean international political import. But at Geneva, the Soviet representative not only fails to put some pertinent questions, concerning the conspiracy to the representatives of France, but does not even refer to the matter at all. Worse than that, the speeches and the relations between the representatives of Communism and imperialism are marked by a politeness and mutual back-slapping which brings farce to the relief of its tragedy.

A Congenial Commissioner

"It was not," remarks the New York **Times** (5-19-1931), "the Litvinov one was used to hearing here in the Preparatory Disarmament Commission who spoke today. The Soviet Foreign Commissioner amazed all by his conciliatory tone and by foregoing the opportunity to exploit capitalist ills for the glory of Communism . . . If stripped of a few [few indeed! S.] typically Communist expressions (his speech) might have been spoken by some economist of one of a number of bourgeois schools."

And, Litvinov adds: "I do think however, that something might be done for the removal of phenomena unnecessarily aggravating our relations and prolonging the world crisis. This requires the avoidance of everything tending to an atmosphere of distrust."

Distrust of whom and by whom? The bourgeoisie will "distrust" the Soviet Union so long as it exists, and for good cause. The bourgeoisie laughs up its sleeve when Litvinov or Stalin asks it to put "trust" in Russia's "readiness to adhere to the principle of the peaceful [!] co-existence of the two systems". Briand, Henderson, Curtius Zaleski and Co. are quite willing to sign any document or "peace pact". It costs nothing and—this time with Soviet aid—it helps them to poison the minds of the masses who are suspicious about the bourgeoisie's "pacifism". Or does Litvinov mean that the Soviet Union must stop "distrusting" the Briands and MacDonalds?

Matters stand no better with regard to the famous Litvinov "protocol" itself. "M. Litvinof proceeded to explain that his protocol meant to do for economic warfare what the Briand-Kellogg peace pact did to war—to outlaw it," the **Times** (5-22-1931) informs us. "It would . . . prevent discrimination against any one country or group of countries saying in other words that the main idea [so!] was to assure the peaceful co-existence of the Communist and capitalist systems." That these two systems **cannot** exist peacefully side by side is an A B C truth for any Marxist, not to speak of any class-conscious bourgeois; the contrary idea is a stupid, reactionary invention of Stalinism upon which the equally reactionary theory of "socialism in one country" is founded. As to what "his protocol meant", let us withhold comment for a moment until we read the miserable manner in which the central organ of the American Communist Party tries to palm off this cheap pacifist counterfeit as good Bolshevik coin:

"The meaning of the Soviet proposals is the revelation that only the Soviet system can guarantee peace to the world's peoples [A revelation indeed, for the proposals say nothing of the sort! S.] . . . What a crushing refutation of the 'inconceivably silly' charge of 'Soviet dumping'! Do you want to stop dumping? Then let all nations pledge themselves to sell no goods in the world market cheaper than they sell these goods in their own country! What could be more simple? [We can really thing of nothing more simple or more fantastic! S.] What argument more convincing? [To whom? Pioneers, perhaps? S.] Although the Soviet proposal is the very soul of logic [Ahem!], the imperialist robbers and war-makers will undoubtedly seek for some hole to crawl through in an effort to explain to their peoples that the Soviet proposal is 'utopian'! The Soviet in one blow has shattered the charge of 'dumping', proposed that the standard of living of the toiling masses be raised trade rivalries abolished and the danger of war dispelled!" (**Daily Worker**, 5-20-1931.)

At One Single Blow!

At one blow, neither more nor less! According, then, to the new "revelation" from Mount Litvinov, if imperialism would only consent to function without dumping on the world market—a proposal which we are assured is not utopian—**trade rivalries would be wiped out and the danger of war dispelled.** This gospel—we want to call it reactionary poison but it is simply crass, abysmal ignorance—is taught to the working class not only by the "diplomatic representative of the Soviet Union" who "speaks to the world's masses over the heads of the bourgeois robbers", but by the central organ of official American Communism. But things cannot rest there. The Soviet proposal, made, in the words of Briand, with that "moderation of M. Litvinov to which we all pay homage", is meant to "outlaw" economic warfare just as the Kellogg Pact "outlawed" war. Why doesn't the **Daily Worker,** which endorses the one, also endorse the other? Is there a fundamental distinction? We see none. When Stalin signed the Kellogg Pact, the **Daily Worker** at least had the . . . decency to keep quiet and to cover up the scandal by heaping denunciation upon the Pact "in general". It is clear that the policies of Stalinism are causing the **Daily Worker** to surrender even the last few tatters of decency it had left.

One might continue with even more detailed comment upon the Litvinov proposal. There is, for instance, the illiterate apology for Litvinov by Harrison George (5-22-1931) who was transferred from his cage on column seven to Amter's place on column one to explain—we quote literally—that Litvinov "is only asking that the United States obey its own law." But there has already been enough to show that the socialist **New Leader,** usually rabidly anti-Soviet, was eminently correct when it wrote eulogistically (5-23-1931) that "Litvinov spoke like a socialist who has belief in democracy. And the world listened seriously". Litvinov may consider this a complement from a foe. We regard it as an epitaph for the degenerated Centrist bureaucracy.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE CHINESE OPPOSITION

"Dear Comrades of the Secretariat and Trotsky:

"The Unification Conference of the Chinese Opposition took place on the historical day of May First in Shanghai. Seventeen representatives were present, and in addition from delegates with advisory rights. They represented a total of 483 members (all of four groups). The Conference adopted our common platform and other resolutions which were worked out by the unification commission. A National Executive Committee (consisting of nine members and four candidates) was elected, from which a Secretariat of five was chosen. The name of our organization was made "The Left Opposition of the Chinese Communist Party". Its organ is to be called "Spark". Our platform and resolutions will be translated into European languages in the nearest future.

"The Chinese Opposition has been united. This has provoked a great deal of attention both from the reaction and from the working masses. We believe that under the leadership of the International Left Opposition, it can and will carry on its great historical task. We hope that between the Secretariat and the Chinese section there will be a constant and close relation.

"The news about the burning of comrade Trotsky's library was brought us by the bourgeois press and confirmed by your circular. We have appointed a special committee for contributions.

"With Opposition greetings,

Secretariat of the Left Opposition of the Chinese Communist Party.

"Secretary, Tchen Du-Siu.

The Party's Unemployment Drive

The course pursued in the past period by the party in its work among the unemployed is rich in instructive material. A survey of a number of its outstanding features will be of help to the movement in orientating itself in the future.

At the beginning of the struggle for the unemployed stood the philosophy of the "third period" which though dead, revisits our press from time to time. When the crisis came, the American "theoreticians" came forward and from the bastard philosophy of the "third period" fished out as a basis for the party's work the absurd contention of a wide-spread, deep-going radicalization of the American working class. They were followed by the "tacticians" and from the above premise were made the following deductions about unemployment:

The Stalinist Analysis

In a period of such radicalization, the workers are ready for action on the political plane and those whose misery is greatest, the unemployed, on the highest political plane. The lever which can set them immediately into motion on this plane is the issue of unemployment insurance. This will be the central slogan of our unemployment work. the fight for unemployment insurance from the city, state and national governments. With the workers ready for action on this plane, it is unnecessary to win influence over them by patient, day-to-day, elementary educational and organizational work in proletarian neighborhoods, among the broad masses of workers of heterogeneous races, trades and varying degrees of political development. We can plant our banners almost anywhere and the workers will rally around them. We have only to call and the "radicalized" workers will come. The greater their misery, the prompter will be their response to our summons and the more "radicalized" they will be. We can recruit them from broadlines flophouses, relief agencies, etc. The workers will come but they are unorganized; we must be ready for them.

In the equatorial jungles of Guiana, there are trees whose upper branches, closely pressed by the surrounding vegetation, send down air-roots which dangle above ground, swaying in the air currents. After this model the party organized its unemployed apparatus. Before it numbered a hundred unemployed workers under its influence in the fight for unemployment insurance, it established a National Unemployment Council which today, like the "third period" and other inventions, is a sensitive memory. From this center, it sent down instructions to the party and appeals to the masses to organize into district unemployed councils on the basis of the fight for unemployment insurance. Such was the air-root procedure.

Nor were these councils deliberately located in proletarian neighborhoods, whereupon the application of correct policies and tactics, they could have taken root and grown into a genuine mass movement. They were established on the principle of organizational convenience. For the most part they are located in the headquarters of party organizations a few of which are situated in working class residential neighborhoods, and the greater number of which are not. At the same time, the party was mobilized, the cadres were sent into the councils and from there to the breadlines and flophouses to recruit "radicalized" workers to fight for unemployment insuranct.

The strategy of this fight was of necessity derived from the untrue estimate of a wide-spread, deep-going radicalization of the masses. It had, therefore, the impossible task of producing results commensurate with that estimate. Any attempt to do so would inevitably reveal the contradiction between the estimate of such a radicalization and the results possible in such a period, and the party's feeble influence over the masses and consequent failure to produce such results. Such failure would result in loss of prestige and influence of Communism over the masses. Moreover the strategy was to be applied at that stage of the crisis when it was descending swiftly to even lower depths. The contradiction between estimate and results would therefore be emphasized sharply and more quickly revealed. This factor imposed on the strategy to be used the task of producing quick results.

The Party's Demonstrations

The strategy used against this impending and, under the circumstances, inescapable disaster sought to hide this contradiction. Action on the political plane made the attempt possible. For quick results the party decided on demonstrations. To hide the feebleness of its influence, the party made the demonstrations spectacular and highly exaggerated the numbers who attended.

There was a third tactic by which the party sought to escape the consequences of its false etsimate and incorrect policies. From demonstrations against municipal governments, the party leaped over the state governments and demonstrated against the federal government on February 10. It was repulsed. It recoiled and demonstrated—is still demonstrating—in isolated, unco-ordinated hunger marches against state governments. This strategy is manifestly incorrect. From demonstrations against city governments, the movement should have risen with the increasing depth of the crisis, misery of the masses growing organizational strength, to a higher political plane, in demonstrations against state governments. And as these factor grew apace, the movement hould have been brought to a climax in a tremendous demonstration against the national government.

But this is precisely what the party could not afford to do. It would have been to reveal in a harsh light the feebleness of its influence, the ineffectualness of its spectacular campaign and as a conclusion, the falsity and absurdity of its estimate. Yet this essentially correct strategy which the party did not follow is claimed for it by Wagenknecht in the March 26, 1931 issue of the **Inprecorr.** In his article "The Struggle Against Unemployment in the U. S. A.", he deliberately creates the impression, by inference, that this was the strategy followed by the party.

This strategy has not been discussed in the party press. All articles of criticism and evaluation ignore it. Why? Is it because the party considers this strategy manifestly correct? Then why does Wagenknecht try to create the impression that another strategy was used? Or is there something to conceal, some weakness in it known to the leadership which discussion would reveal? Are they not silent, rather, because, foreseeing failure for the fight for unemployment insurance on the basis on which it was conducted they arranged this strategy to provide a back door out of which to draw the body of the movement they almost wrecked? What other explanation is there?

This program of demonstrations covered more than a year, during which the roots sent down from the national center took no hold in the masses and are today still swayed by whatever bureaucratic current blows.

The result in terms of relief and unemplolyment insurance is almost zero. The party claiming one million unemployed in New York City points with pride to the million dollars appropriated by the city for unemployment relief, following its October 16 demonstration. Yet, Wagenknecht, writing in the **Daily Worker** on March 7, 1931, can say: "We fail to take cognizance of our achievements!" Other achievements in this direction even of the same microscopic nature there are none.

The Decline of Support

Politically, the party can justly claim one victory. By its demonstrations and agitation it forced the issue of unemployment and its magnitude upon the consciousness of all classes. Otherwise, the year represents a minus. On March 6, 1930, the party claimed it mobilized a million and a quarter workers in its demonstrations for unemployment insurance, etc.; in its February 25, 1931 demonstrations for essentially the same demands it can claim only four hundred thousand. Both figures, of course, are highly exaggerated and intended for Moscow consumption. Incredible as it may seem, this tremendous loss in influence is made to prove the very opposite. Earl Browder, in the **Daily Worker** of March 6, 1931, says: "Superficial examination can easily make a case to show that the movement has declined since March 6 of last year . . . But we must look beneath the surface, examine the realities and judge the quality, the fighting power of the movement. Such an examination must, with all allowances for serious weaknesses in the movement, register a decisive advance in the year." So! A loss of sixty-seven percent in revolutionary capital is now offered to us as a "decisive advance"!

Nor has the party succeeded, as it claims in expansive moments, in disillusioning the American masses about the willingness of American capitalism to relieve their misery. This is a curious and interesting point. To some extent the party has demonstrated the anti-working class nature of police, courts and municipal and state governments and their relief agencies. To a larger extent this disillusionment has been the simple result of workers putting two and two together. But neither the party nor events have removed that basic illusion of the workers that the crisis is only temporary that they have only to hang on and weather the storm—"prosperity" will return. Until the party grasps this, it will never be able to understand why the members of its Unempioyed Councils, men, many of them, with no economic resources whatsoever, who eat on breadlines, have no homes and sleep in flophouses, are not only not militant but apathetic. And until the party attacks and with the help of events, destroys this illusion, it will call, in its unemployed Councils, upon dwindling memberships for its spectacular demonstrations and sorties against breadlines and relief agencies.

—THOMAS STAMM.

* * *

(Note: This article, written by a comrade of the eft Opposition who is very active in the work of the New York Unemployed Councils, is to be followed by others in coming issues. The next articles will deal with other phases of the problem: the condition of the Unemployed Councils, the turn in the party's policies etc., etc.—Ed.)

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- Organization Notes -

MILITANT SUB DRIVE

In the subscription drive the Chicago branch is still maintaining its lead with a fairly good mragin. Its total number of subs collected up to date of going to press is 44. However, it will now face a serious contest from the New York branch which has begun to get real busy during the last week and a half and as brougt its total up to 30 subs.

The next branch in order of subs turned in St. Louis wit 23 which is but a slight increase from the last report made. The Minneapolis branch has remained static since the last report, its total collected not having reached above 22 subs. A number of other branches have made a small beginning bringing the total of subs collected since the beginning of the drive up to 147.

This is entirely too modest an accomplishment particularly in view of the fact that the next issue of the **Militant** will begin the weekly publication. But if we are to take the **splendid promises** made by the New York branch seriously they should still get very close to reaching their total of 100 subs pledged before the drive concludes. In other words if the New York comrades keep their word they will by far outdistance Chicago, that is, provided Chicago does not meanwhile tighten up its forces and continue in the lead. Ho vever it by no means precludes that Minneapolis and St. Louis may still become serious contenders for the first prize.

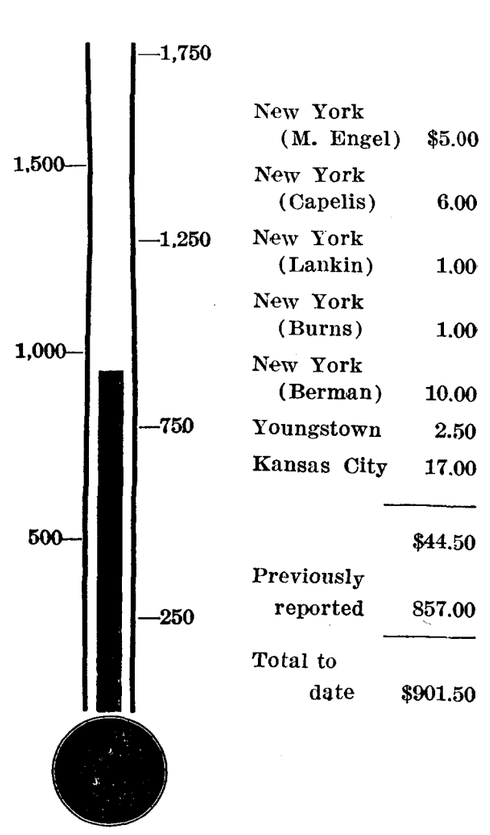
PROGRAM OF EXPANSION CAMPAIGN

In previous issues we have been able to announce that the accomplishments set for the Program of Expansion to be realized step by step are actually ahead of the amount of contributions collected. The Pioneer Publishers are now distributing literature on a more effective basis than we have been able to heretofore. The Wekly **Militant,** which we advanced to the second step begins definitely with the next issue, two weeks from today.

A comparison of the main contributions made on this Program by those branches who have maintained the lead may give a good deal of food for thought for those who are entirely too far behind. New York comes in as the best to date with a total of $451 collected. This is our biggest branch. Minneapolis comes second with a total of $152 collected. Third in line is Kansas City, which is really our smallest branch with $100 collected. Then follows Boston with $40 collected, Montreal with $20, Chicago with $18, Toronto with $12, the balance being scattered amongst smaller branch contributions and individual contributions.

We are still $100 below the thousand dollar mark which is the minimum prerequisite to assure The Weekly **Militant.** We urge the comrades and sympathizers to speed up and complete this second step and then proceed onward.

Contributions received since last report are as follows:



New York (M. Engel)	$5.00
New York (Capelis)	6.00
New York (Lankin)	1.00
New York (Burns)	1.00
New York (Berman)	10.00
Youngstown	2.50
Kansas City	17.00
	$44.50
Previously reported	857.00
Total to date	$901.50

REACTIONARY FANATICISM

The **Empros,** official organ of the Greek Bureau of the Communist party, is carrying on a campaign for 1,000 new subscribers. I was asked by some Greek comrades to undertake getting a few subscriptions, since the nature of my work brings me many acquaintances and into close contact with the Greek Workers and sympathizers in the Communist movement. In a short time, I was able to get two subscribers and intended to get more, but my activity was unexpectedly upset by the disturbed nerves of a former Lovestoneite.

"You have no right to get subscribers for **Empros.** You are a Trotskyist, an enemy of the Communist International" he told me in the real tone of the Stalinist bureaucrat. He said that I was doing the work mainly in order to take advantage of it to propagate my "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism". So, in compliance with his command, I had to return the subscription receipt book. A sincere Greek comrade, more realistic than the other, showed some signs of discontent and disapproval and condemned his sectarianism.

"Listen, if you don't agree with me, bring it up at the next Greek fraction meeting", this comrade was answered by the newly baptized Stalinist who happens to bear my name.

Chicago JAMES ECONOMOU

LETTERS from the MILITANTS

HOW THE I. L. D. DEFENDS OPPOSITION WORKERS

The Inetrnational Labor Defense and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights had their Scottsboro Defense Conference on May 25. At a previous meeting of the Philadelphia branch of the Communist League we elected comrades Morgenstern and Whitten as delegates and LeCompte as alternate.

At the conference, we handed in our organization's credentials to Leon Plott, party district organizer, who was at the door. We were told to go in. The conference began about 9 p. m. in a small hall that was soon overcrowded. Delegates were asked to remain and visitors to go to another meeting room on the same floor, where they were entertanied with speeches of the open air "to the barricades" type.

But in the conference hall itself, another line entirely was pursued. Here Lovestone's famous "united front conferences" were made to look sick by the bureaucrats of the erstwhile "third period". The conference was the biggest thing they had in years. Ninety-eight organizations with 191 delegates were announced.

The officers and committees were of course party affairs—on the q. t. George Powers was chairman. Everything was cut to order. Not quite everything, however. Two people were announced as the Credentials and Resolutions Committee: Jack Rose of the I. L. D. and Coleman of the L. S. N. R. Then, after a time they announced that to sped the work of the committee, four more delegfiates were to be elected to each committee. That was their "deviation".

Comrade Morgenstern was nominated for the Resolutions Committee and then four others. Bill Lawrence, a C. P. bureaucrat made a motion to ask the four from the **bottom of the list** if they accept, and put them on the committee. Our protests were of no avail—one, two three and Morgenstern is out. Then, on nominations for the Credentials Committee, comrade Morgenstern was again nominated (the fourth this time) along with four others. Well, the same trick couldn t possibly be repeated. And our motion that the five stand as nominated for the committee was declared absolutely out of order—impossible—the committee must have four and four only. A vote is taken and the four highest elected. Partyites—delegates and non-delegates—voted and abstained in the same way. The chairman announced 36 votes for Morgenstern. He had at least 56 votes.

This looked pretty suspicious to everybody not initiated into the factional trickery of Stalinism. But nothing was said at the time.

Comrade Walters reported—or rather was supposed to report —on the work of the joint committee of the I. L. D. and L. S. N. R. As a matter of fact, he did nothing with the exception of killing time. Several Negroes got up timidly to speak. Nothing of importance. No discussion. Justice, Rights and Rights. The credentials Committee didn't bring in its report until almost 11 p. m. Rose who is in charge of sabotaging the defense of the Philly Oppositionists, made the report. He announced 98 organizations with 191 delegates distributed as follows: 11 churches, 19 delegates: 65 fraternal organizations, 126 delegates: 19 T. U.s and unemployed groups, 40 delegates; 2 political organizations, 2 delegates. If you take the trouble to add up the numbers, you get 97 organizations and 187 delegates. All however, were declared seated. No names of organizations were mentioned.

Then resolutions and telegrams were read. Then organizational report. And still nothing said or done., All organizations must give money; must collect money; must sell **Liberators;** must distribute leaflets, etc.

Here comrade Morgenstern finally managed to get the floor to speak on organizational proposals. Morgenstern has some concrete proposals on policy to put forth. He shocks the Stalinists by telling the delegates that this is a good conference, but it does not yet represent the working class in Philadelphia. He proposes to enlarge the work and scope of this conference and draw into it the workers in the A. F. of L. unions and he proposes to send representatives to the S. P.

Then the bureaucrats began to beat the hammer, to shout, etc. But they did not succeed, despite their numbers in drowning out our comrade, and after points of order, procedure and motions had been put nd passed (?), he still held the floor. I represent the Communist League and I m myself one of those workers in Philadelphia arrested and charged with sedition, facing from one to twenty years in prison . . . These people are trying to stop me because we have different proposals than their's," etc.

The C. P. bureaucrats were wild. "If you don't shut up, we'll throw you out" they screamed, ignoring all protests and motions from the floor to permit Morgie to go on. "That's the only way you can get me away from this conference," he replied, "you'll have to carry me out."

It was a magnificent display to the workers present of the strangulation policy of Stalinism. It warned the workers that even here—at a meeting to protest lynching, they must be on their guard. Here was raised the voice of a delegate of at least one organization who gave expression to those who voted for our comrade's election to the resolution and to the credentials committee: and who would not say Yes, Yes, to all the stupid and criminally incompetent work of the bureaucrat and his puppets.

It was at the same time a fine display of proletarian courage to stand up boldly in the face of this howling mob (the "well-known" Tasker Street gang was present too . . .)

The Stalinists rushed us and forcibly ejected us from the hall. They would surely have beaten us up had there not been so many people around. Cries were raised in the hall: "Let him speak! He's telling the truth! We want to hear him!" and mingled with cries: "Kill him!"

Several delegates and others walked out in protest against the bureaucrats' "united front" tactics.

After our ejection from the hall it might have been expected that the "renegades" were denounced. Not so, this is not the party's line here. On the demand of delegates for an explanation, it was explained (!) that we were not delegates and that all visitors had been asked to leave. The bureaucrats were entirely on the defensive. The reason for the strange explanation of what occurred can be understood from the following:

Throughout the entire evening, we never once heard mention of even the word Communist (let alone Communist party) or socialist, or class struggle. Only Rights, Courts, Fairness, Rights, Rights, etc. These bureaucrats even took to teadring to the church delegates by calling each other, not comrade, but "brother"; thus, Lawence to Powers (both party members, "brother chairman", etc.

The fear of our delegation, and the desire to hide the very name "Communist" are far from accidental. They are the reasons why the names of the organizations represented were not mentioned. "Two political organizations"—which two? Socialist, Democratic, Communist? Shall the worker-delegates present know who defends the workers? Sh-sh! Nothing must be said. Thus the national representative of the I. L. D. announced that he and the I. L. D. took the initiative to point to the necessity of organizing a Scottsboro defense.

After we were thrown out there was no more discussion (the delegates evidently fear to make a suggestion, let alone to disagree with anything). And the conference that might have been a stepping-stone to further education and organization of the workers to the necessity of united workers' defense was concluded.

Philadelphia, Pa. —LEON GOODMAN.

Shall We Subordinate Social Insurance Fight?

The deep protracted crisis in America has long ago blasted the 1928 platform of Lovestone and his Right wingers. At the same time, the longer the crisis lasts the more is revealed the utter bankruptcy of the policies pursued by the Stalinist (Centrist) party bureaucrats since the crisis set in. At a time (Winter of 1929-1930) When the workers, after experiencing a long period of prosperity (probably the highest degree of prosperity ever experienced by any working class under capitalism in any country) were just beginning, in a bewildered confused manner, to feel the effects of the crisis, the party bureaucrats wrote in their theses of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses and came forward with their now famous slogan of "Fight for the streets". Thus the "third period" was ushered in.

As the crisis deepened, the bureaucrats veered to the Right, following a policy which was a mixture of S. P.ism and adventurism. After giving birth to their flimsy "Insurance bill" hunger marches became and still are the order of the day. At the present time, the question of Social Insurance is mentioned with decreasing frequency in the columns of the **Daily Worker.**

Lately the Left Opposition has also manifested a strong tendency to minimize the importance of social insurance. Is the struggle for social insurance to be completely subordinated or given up entirely? What should our attitude to this question be? Where do we stand to-day? How much longer will the crisis last? With the experience of the last two years behind us we should be able to analyze the present situation and draw a few conclusions regarding the length of the crisis.

This much is certain: the crisis which has lasted nearly two years at this time shows no signs whatever of abating. The lowest point so far reached by the crisis was touched this Spring. The tendency is still downward. The latter is shown by the continued falling-off of exports, falling-off of revenue by the so called "blue chip" companies, continued unemployment and the downsliding of stocks. The coming Winter, (the third of the crisis) will not only be the most severe thus far but will be one of the worst, if not the worst, ever experienced by the American working class.

In view of the above facts, to subordinate the struggle for social insurance is a severe mistake. Also to speak of such strikes as the textile strike in Lawrence Mass. as the beginning of the offensive struggles of the working class in the period of the upward curve as comrade Swabeck recently wrote in the **Militant** is speculative reasoning.

The working class is still entirely on the defensive. The recent strikes which are and will become more numerous, are defensive strikes. The capitalist class having failed to get out of its crisis by two years of lay-offs and wage-cutting has decreed the only "remedy" they know of, namely; more wage cutting, thus seeking to load a greater share of the burden on the working class. Lately they speak even more openly of the need for further wage-cuts. The increasing number of strikes are half-organized, desperate attempts at resistance on the part of the working class. The only unemployed workers that the capitalists willingly feed are those who will do strike-breaking duty. Big business is now rubbing its hands and calculating that the unemployed are now more hungry than they were two years ago, hence ready to work at any price and under any circumstances.

The Communists must not only take a greater hand in these defensive strikes but must organize and lead them. Against the wage cuts we must counterpose the shorter working week with no reduction of pay. We must not give up the fight for social insurance but on the contrary we must keep this issue in the foreground. Around this fight and the fight for a shorter working week, the unemployed and the employed must be united in the battles that will develop during the coming Fall and Winter over the question of wage reduction.

—MIHELIC.

THE STRANGLED REVOLUTION - - by LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from page 4)

Garine and Borodin will be delivered of their benevolent vassaldom towards the bourgeoisie. They will only have chosen as the new channel of their activity, Chang Kai-Shek, son of the same class and fellow-cadet of Tcheng Dai. Head of the military school of Whampoa founded by the Bolsheviks Chiang Kai-Shek does not confine himself to a passive opposition; he is ready to resort to bloody force, not in the plebeian form, the form of the masses, but in the military form and only within limits that will permit the bourgeoisie to preserve an unlimited power over the army. Borodin and Garine, by arming their enemies, disarm and repulse their friends. This is the way they prepare the catastrophe.

But are we not overestimating the influence of the revolutionary bureaucracy upon the events? No. it showed itself stronger than it might have thought, if not for good then at least for evil. The coolies who are only beginning to exist politically require a courageous leadership. Hong requires a bold program. The revolution requires the energies of millions of rising men. But Borodin and his bureaucrats require Tcheng Dai and Chiang Kai-Shek. They suppress Hong and prevent the worker from raising his hand. In a few months, they will stifle the agrarian insurrection so as not to rebuff the whole bourgeoisie from the army. Their strength is that they represent the Russian October, Bolshevism, the Communist International. Having usurped authority, the banner and the subsidies of the greatest of revolutions, the bureaucracy bars the road to another revolution which also had all chances of being great.

The dialogue between Borodin and Hong (page 181-182) is the most frightful indictment of Borodin and his Moscow inspirers. Hong, as usual, is after decisive action. He demands the punishment of the most prominent bourgeois. Borodin finds this unique reply: "Those who are paying must not be touched", the revolution is not so simple, says Garine for his part. "The revolution means paying the army dearly," adds Borodin. These aphorisms contain all the elements of the noose in which the Chinese revolution was strangled. Borodin preserved the bourgeoisie which, in recompense, made contributions for the "revolution", the money going to the army of Chang Kai-Shek. The army of Chang Kai-Shek exterminated the proletariat and liquidated the revolution. Was it really impossible to foresee? And was it in truth not forseen? The bourgeoisie pays willingly only for the army which serves it against the people. The army of the revolution does not wait for rewards: it makes them pay. That is called the revolutionary dictatorship. Hong came forward successfully in the workers' meetings and overwhelms the "Russians", the bearers of ruin for the revolution. The road of Hong himself does not lead to the goal but he is right as against Borodin. "Did the Tai-Ping leaders have Russian advisors? And the Boxers?" (page 189). Had the Chinese revolution of 1924-1927 been left to itself, it would perhaps not have come to victory immediately but it would not have resorted to the methods of Harikari, it would not have known shameful capitulations and it would have trained revolutionary cadres. Between the dual power of Canton and that of Petrograd there is the tragic difference that in China there actually does not exist Bolshevism; under the name of Trotskyism, it was declared a counter-revolutionary doctrine and was persecuted by every method of calumny and repression. Where Kerensky did not succeed during the July days, Stalin succeeded ten yeads later in China.

Borodin and "all the Bolsheviks of his generation", Garine tells us, were marked by their struggle against the anarchists. This remark was needed by the author so as to prepare the reader for the struggle of Borodin against Hong's group. Historically it is false. Anarchism was unable to raise its head in Russia not because the Bolsheviks fought successfully against it but because they had first dug up the ground under its steps. Anarchism, if it does not live within the four walls of intellectuals' cafes or newspaper editorial offices, but has penetrated more deeply, translates the psychology of despair in the masses and represents the political punishment for the deceptions of democracy and the treachery of opportunism. The boldness of Bolshevism in posing the revolutionary problems and in teaching their solution, left no room for the development of anarchism in Russia. But if the historical investigation of Malraux is not exact, his recital shows admirably how the opportunist policy of Stalin-Borodin prepared the ground for anarchist terrorism in China.

Driven by the logic of this policy, Borodin consents to adopt a decree against the terrorists. The solid revolutionists, repulsed into the road of adventurism by the crimes of the Moscow leaders, the bourgeoisie of Canton, provided with the benediction of the Comintern, declares them outlaws. They reply with acts of terrorism against the pseudo-revolutionary bureaucrats which protects the bourgeoisie that pays. Borodin and Garine seize the terrorists and destroy them, no longer defending the bourgeois but their own heads. It is thus that the policy of conciliation slides down fatally to the lowest degree of felony.

The book is called "The Conquerors". This title which has a double meaning when the revolution paints itself with imperialism, the author attributes to the Russian Bolsheviks, or more exactly, to a certain faction among them. The conquerors? The Chinese masses rose for a revolutionary insurrection, under the unmistakable influence of the October upheavel as their example and with Bolshevism as their banner, But the "conquerors" conquered nothing. On the contrary, they surrended everything to the enemy. If the Russian revolution called forth the Chinese revolution the Russian epigones suppressed it. Malraux does not make these deductions. He does not even seem to think of them. They only follow all the more clearly from the basis of his remarkable book.

THE YOUNG VANGUARD

Appeal to the League Convention

Comrades! The Sixth Convention of the Young Communist League of the U. S. A. meets at a time when the gap between the rich opportunities for Communist advance and the isolation of the party and League is especially wide. This fact requires a thorough explanation and therefore a thorough examination by all young Communists and by this convention.

The present leadership has shown itself incapable of giving such an analysis. Its theoretical ignorance and immaturity, its lack of independence, its origin—appointment by party bureaucrats—disqualifies it from the careful and objective study necessary, and which alone can form the premise of the growth of the Y. C. L.

Why the gap? Why has the party and especially the Y. C. L. mdae no real progress?

To begin with, an understanding is necessary of the reasons for the expulsion of the supporters of the Left Opposition from the American League and Party since the latter part of 1928.

When leading comrades of the party asked for a discussion of the questions which were threatening the very foundations and life of the Russian party and the Comintern,—the policies pursued in the Soviet Union, China, England and elsewhere by the Communist International, and expressed their solidarity with the views of the Russian Left Opposition led by comrade Leon Trotsky, they were summarily expelled. This made any thorough and honest discussion of these vital matters impossible. The leadership of the American party, at that time Lovestone and Foster, used the methods of the Stalinist bueraucrats in suppressing documents (in Russia: Lenin's Last Testament, Lenin's speech against Stalin on the national question minutes of the April 1917 meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian party, the statements and theses of the Russian Left Opposition on the Russian and the Chinese questions, Anglo-Russian Committee). Groups of party and League functionaries were sent to slug the comrades of our group. Raids were made on our headquarters where wholesale burglary took place. This prompted many rank and file members of the party and League to ask for a discussion of the issues involved, and to protest against these anti-Communist actions. Such comrades were immediately expelled. It is no accident that the directing force in our expulsion was the Lovestone group. This faction, which represents most consistently the opportunist tendency in the Communist movement, is the most logical antagonist of the Left. Nor is it by chance that the most ardent and violent organizer of the hooligan squads employed against us, Bert Miller, is now to be found in the ranks of social reformism, the Muste movement.

Against Class Collaboration Policies

What are the views, the support of which has led to the expulsion of many tried revolutionists in every important Communist party in the world?

Following the defeat of the German and Bulgarian proletariat in 1923, the revolutionary movement in the West experienced a decided setback. Gradually the feeling set in among the leaders of the Russian party and Comintern, that the proletarian revolution in the West, WHICH LENIN AND THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY HAD COUNTED UPON TO AID THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, was postponed for decades. This essentially pessimistic and false view led to the theory of the ability of the Soviet Union, by its own inner forces, to counstruct an isolated socialist economy within its national borders. That is that Russia, after a few years, could separate itself completely from the international market and live in a self-sufficient, national socialist economy. This reactionary and utopian theory leads to the policy of class-collaboration inside the Soviet Union as well as outside of it.

In the Soviet Union, the party was confronted with the question of strengthening the proletarian state and the socialist sector of economy, in a country with an overwhelming peasant population and in the midst of a capitalist encirclement.

The policy of the Left Opposition led by comrade Trotsky signified a definite continuation of the policy of Lenin: the state power of the working class to base itself in the village on the agricultural worker, and poor peasant, form an alliance with the middle peasantry and to carry on a class fight against the kulaks, the exploiters of the village, the course for a rapid increase of industrialization, especially in heavy industry, of the country; to collectivize agriculture on the basis of industrial progress, so as to bring the peasants nearer to socialism. This internal policy was based on the perspective of the development of the proletarian revolution in the highly developed capitalist countries, the victory of which would bring immeasurably closer a **radical** solution of the contradiction inherent in an isolated workers' state.

The Right-Center bloc (Bucharin-Stalin—1925-28), on the basis of the theory of socialism in one country which they developed jointly left the path of Lenin with his support on the agricultural worker and the poor peasantry, and instead based itself on the middle peasant and yielded to the kulak. At the same time the policies led to a tremendous growth of th party and state bureaucracy, that is, of a caste of officials who have become accustomed to routine and peaceful functioning and, living a life separate and apart from the party members and Russian workers, seek to raise themselves "above the classes." This not only weakens the proletarian state but threatens its very existence.

Under pressure of events (for example, the kulak "grain strike" of Feb. 1928), and the proletarian element of the party, the Left Opposition the bloc with the Right, who believed in the possibility of the kulak peacefully developing into socialism", was broken, and a course to the Left was begun. However, the Stalinists regime is incapable of a genuine Left policy. Instead it led the country into ultra-Left adventurism which threatened the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry as well as to throw the country into a serious crisis. The course away from the ultra-Left was commenced with the change of front on the "complete collectivization in two-years" policy. The mass admissions in to the party which has virtually liquidated it, the inactivity of the proletariat, the abolition of factory committees, the growth of the party and state bureaucracy, the anti-proletarian foreign policy (Kellogg Pact Litvinov's speeches), very sharply pose the serious dangers of the degeneration of the Soviet State.

The theory of socialism in one country and its logical conclusion of class collaboration, led to the defeat of the revolution in China 1925-1927, and the stultifying of the tremendous possibility for growth of the C. P. of England in 1925-1927.

In China, the leaders of the Comintern, in order to extend the so-called "pro-soviet front" (for Chiang Kai-Shek was supposed to be anti-imperialist, pro-soviet!) the workers and peasants were subordinated to the capitalist bourgeoisie, and their agents were supported. In England because of the so-called pro-Soviet character of the Anglo-Russian Committee and the British trade union fakers, Purcell, Hicks, etc., the Stalin-Bucharin bloc supported it even after their betrayal of the British General Strike. This harnessed the big move to the Left considerably.

The Y. C. I. and the Communist Youth Leagues are politically subordinate to the Comintern and the Communist parties. This political guidance and leadership by the party should be maintained through a party cadre in the League, correct policies, and through discussion in the League of party policies. Only by understanding the tactics and policies can the youth be expected to carry them out.

The Situation in the Y. C. L.

In the United States, the Young Communist League has been unavoidably involved in these processes with disastrous consequences. The period since the last convention, two years ago, has been marked by the ultra-Left zig-zag, the adventurism of the "third period" which is now silently sneaking into oblivion. The sectarian policies have resulted in an enormous decrease in membership in complete isolation from the proletarian youth, loss of what little influence it had in the past. The activity of the League in the past two years is symbolized by the stupid and innumerable "shock-plans" which set fantastic and unrealizable aims altogether out of proportion to the realities of the situation, and which always end in miserable failures.

The League has failed to arouse any substantial movement against the withdrawal of mailing privileges for the **Young Worker.** This is to be explained by the fact that the **Young Worker** has no influence among the working youth, by its extremely poor contents, as well as by the abandonment of the united front tactic by the League leadership.

The special youth activities and youth demands were practically abandoned, as evinced by the elections of last year and the unemployment campaign. The Y. C. L. became more and more only a junior appendage of the party Such phases of activities as opponents youth work have either completely disappeared or are carried on "spontaneously" The tactic of the united front was discarded as a "relic" of a previous period. Recently (and correctly) it has been revived in connection with the inviting of the Y. P. S. L. to the National Youth Day Conference in New York. But this has been done without explanation and in complete contradiction to everything that has been said in the last two years.

There has been no stable and competent leadership. Changes have been very frequent with the purpose of concealing the real nature of the crisis. Arbitrary appointments and removals by the party bureaucrats have only plowed the ground for careerism. In addition to big losses of members the turn-over has been whirlingly rapid, revealing the emptiness of the League's inner-life. The ideological level has never been so low, and the educational work has never been so poor and scarce. The right to question the correctness of party decisions has been denied, thus crushing the possibility of independent thought and theoretical growth.

The pre-convention discussion thus far has been of an extremely superficial character, as is to be seen from the contributions in the **Daily Worker.** It has not risen above the level of a unit discussion on some technical problem or other. From reading the articles no one would suspect that the Y. C. L. is afflicted with a political and organizational crisis. No one dares to make a true analysis of the conditions of the League or to discuss its problems from a political point of view. It is for the purpose of radically changing this stagnant situation, of elevating the discussion to a Communist plane, of arousing every young Communist to a realization of what confronts him that we address ourselves to the Y. C. L. convention. But we cannot be satisfied with this alone We want the right to participate in the struggles of the young workers together with the members of the Young Communist League. We want united action of the Y. C. L. and the youth of the Left Opposition. We demand to know why the petty-bourgeois Y P. S. L. can be invited to a conference called by the Y. C. L. and the same right is not extended to the **Communist** youth of the Communist League of America (Opposition)!

We call upon the Communist youth once again to unfurl the banner of Marxism and to struggle in the front ranks against opportunism.

We call upon the young Communists to demand the reinstatement of the expelled Left Oppositionists into the League, the Party, and the Comintern.

Forward to the revolutionary unity of the ranks of Communism!

National Youth Committee
Communist League of America (Opposition)

The Spanish Bourgeoisie Gets into Action

(Continued from page 1)

great deal upon the support of the strongest Latin section in the Comintern—the French Communist Party. However, the bureaucratic spirit and the Stalinist degeneration which prevails at the present time throughout the Comintern, are driving the French C. P. to turn its back upon the Spanish Communist movement which, as a result of an intolerable regime of a few "loyalities" in the Comintern apparatus, is developing outside the ranks of the official C. P.

The organ of the C. P. F., **l'Humanite,** published the notice of the arrest of the Communist group in the International Saloon without comment like all the bourgeois papers. Since then, it has shown no interest in the fate of the arrested comrades. Why? Because these Communists are not "loyalites", are not 100 percent Stalinists. It matters little to the bureaucrats that the **whole party** is behind these comrades, that the workers follow them in the trade unions, that the republican-socialist government persecutes them: they are inscribed in the archives of the Comintern as "expelled". That is enough for the zealous bureaucrats of the C. P. F. not to lend the slightest attention to these "heretics". Now what does their heresy consist of? Let us recall it briefly again to our readers.

The "Crime" of the Expelled

The whole Madrid organization, as a bloc, as well as the Catalonian-Balearic Federation, has refused to follow the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Spain in its splitting adventure in the National Confederation of Labor. The Executive Committee has succeeded only in Seville where it was able, thanks to the entirely personal influence of Manuel Adame, to create a trade union movement under its leadership. In Madrid, as everywhere else, the Executive Committee was not even followed by the ranks of the C. P. S. The whole organization was then expelled. It is this organization (Agrupacion Communista de Madrid) which now leads a few trade union organizations and which always places itself in the forefront of the revolutionary struggles of the Madrid proletariat. Is it "Trotskyist"? Does it adhere to the Left Opposition? No! But the Agrupacion, rid of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Comintern, permits Communist discussion and the collaboration of the Leninist Opposition within its ranks. It conceives of workers' democracy as Lenin conceived of it in the Bolshevik party and in the C. I. There is its whole "crime"! It also seeks, on the basis of democracy, to unify all the scattered Communist forces to create a solid Communist party. The Spanish Left Opposition, conscious of the great importance of a unified party in the present revolutionary situation, is helping the Agrupacion de Madrid with all its strength in the work of gathering up and unifying the Communist forces.

It is the Comintern and its bureaucrats who are the **only obstacle** at the present moment to the creation of a solid Communist Party of Spain. This is a truth which the Spanish Communists observe today with considerable bitterness. As for us, it is not surprising: it is the consequence of the Stalinist degeneration of our Communist International.

The Left Opposition in every country considers as its greatest duty the support of the Spanish Communists persecuted by the bourgeois republic. A campaign of sympathy and financial aid must be organized without delay. The International Red Aid [International Labor Defense] must organize the defense of **all** the persecuted Spanish revolutionists, regardless of whether or not they are partisans of the Executive Committee of Madrid.

Whoever does not understand these elementary duties of international solidarity is a traitor to the nascent revolution of the Spanish proletariat!

May 22, 1931 M. MILL.

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